

"(2) A uniform set of standards for users of the joint public water supply facilities.

"(3) A provision for the pro rata sharing of operating and maintenance costs based upon the ratio of actual usage as measured by devices installed to gauge such usage with reasonable accuracy.

"(4) A provision establishing a procedure for the arbitration and resolution of disputes.

"(5) A provision establishing a procedure for the carriage of liability insurance, if such insurance is necessary under the laws of either State.

"(6) A provision establishing a procedure for the modification of the agreement.

"(7) A provision establishing a procedure for the adoption of regulations for the use, operation, and maintenance of the public water supply facilities.

"(8) A provision setting forth the means by which the municipality that does not own the joint public water supply facility will pay the other municipality its share of the maintenance and operating costs of said facility.

"(g) APPLICABILITY OF STATE LAWS.—Cooperative agreements entered into by municipalities under this compact shall be consistent with, and shall not supersede, the laws of the State in which each municipality is located. Notwithstanding any provision of this compact, actions taken by a municipality pursuant to this compact, or pursuant to an agreement entered into under this compact, including the incurring of obligations or the raising and appropriating of revenue, shall be valid only if taken in accordance with the laws of the State in which such municipality is located.

"CONSTRUCTION

"Nothing in this compact shall be construed to authorize the establishment of interstate districts, authorities, or any other new governmental or quasi-governmental entity.

"ARTICLE III

"EFFECTIVE DATE

"This compact shall become effective when ratified by the States of Vermont and New Hampshire and approved by the United States Congress."

SEC. 2. RIGHT TO ALTER, AMEND, OR REPEAL.

The right to alter, amend, or repeal this joint resolution is hereby expressly reserved. The consent granted by this joint resolution shall not be construed as impairing or in any manner affecting any right or jurisdiction of the United States in and over the region which forms the subject of the compact.

SEC. 3. CONSTRUCTION AND SEVERABILITY.

It is intended that the provisions of this compact shall be reasonably and liberally construed to effectuate the purposes thereof. If any part on application of this compact, or legislation enabling the compact, is held invalid, the remainder of the compact or its application to other situations or persons shall not be affected.

SEC. 4. INCONSISTENCY OF LANGUAGE.

The validity of this compact shall not be affected by any insubstantial difference in its form or language as adopted by the two States.

The Senate joint resolution was ordered to be read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

A similar House joint resolution (H.J. Res. 129) was laid on the table.

SENSE OF CONGRESS REGARDING UNITED STATES SUPPORT OF TAIWAN

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, I move to suspend the rules and agree to the concurrent resolution (H. Con. Res. 148) expressing the sense to the Congress that the United States is committed to the military stability of the Taiwan Straits and United States military forces should defend Taiwan in the event of invasion, missile attack, or blockade by the People's Republic of China, as amended.

The Clerk read as follows:

H. CON. RES. 148

Whereas the United States began its long, peaceful, and friendly relationship with the Republic of China on Taiwan in 1949;

Whereas since the enactment in 1979 of the Taiwan Relations Act, the policy of the United States has been based on the expectation that the future relationship between the People's Republic of China and Taiwan will be determined by peaceful means and by mutual agreement between the parties;

Whereas the People's Republic of China's intense efforts to intimidate Taiwan have reached a level that threatens to undermine stability throughout the region;

Whereas, since the beginning of 1996, the leaders of the People's Republic of China have frequently threatened to use military force against Taiwan;

Whereas for the past year the People's Republic of China has conducted military maneuvers designed to intimidate Taiwan both during its democratic legislative elections in 1995 and during the period preceding democratic presidential elections in March 1996;

Whereas these military maneuvers and tests have included the firing of 6 nuclear-capable missiles approximately 100 miles north of Taiwan in July 1995;

Whereas the firing of missiles near Taiwan and the interruption of international shipping and aviation lanes threaten both Taiwan and the political, military, and commercial interests of the United States and its allies;

Whereas in the face of such action, Taiwan is entitled to defend itself from military aggression, including through the development of an anti-ballistic missile defense system;

Whereas the United States and Taiwan have enjoyed a longstanding and uninterrupted friendship, which has only increased in light of the remarkable economic development and political liberalization in Taiwan in recent years;

Whereas Taiwan has achieved tremendous economic success in becoming the 19th largest economy in the world;

Whereas Taiwan has reached a historic turning point in the development of Chinese democracy, as on March 23, 1996, it will conduct the first competitive, free, fair, direct, and popular election of a head of state in over 4,000 years of recorded Chinese history;

Whereas for the past century the United States has promoted democracy and economic freedom around the world, and the evolution of Taiwan is an outstanding example of the success of that policy;

Whereas the Taiwan Relations Act directs the President to inform the Congress promptly of any threat to Taiwan's security and provides that the President and the Congress shall determine, in accordance with constitutional processes, appropriate United States action in response; and

Whereas the Taiwan Relations Act of 1979 rests on the premise that the United States will assist Taiwan should it face any effort to determine its future by other than peace-

ful means, including by boycotts or embargoes: Now, therefore, be it;

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That it is the sense of the Congress that—

(1) the People's Republic of China should immediately live up to its commitment to the United States to work for a peaceful resolution of any disagreements with Taiwan, and accordingly desist from military actions designed to intimidate Taiwan;

(2) the People's Republic of China should engage in negotiations to discuss any outstanding points of disagreement with Taiwan without any threat of military or economic coercion against Taiwan;

(3) Taiwan has stated and should adhere to its commitment to negotiate its future relations with the People's Republic of China by mutual decision, not unilateral action;

(4) the United States should maintain its capacity to resist any resort to force or other forms of coercion that would jeopardize the security, or the social or economic system, of the people on Taiwan, consistent with its undertakings in the Taiwan Relations Act;

(5) the United States should maintain a naval presence sufficient to keep open the sea lanes in and near the Taiwan Strait;

(6) in the face of the several overt military threats by the People's Republic of China against Taiwan, and consistent with the commitment of the United States under the Taiwan Relations Act, the United States should supply Taiwan with defensive weapons systems, including naval vessels, aircraft, and air defense, all of which are crucial to the security of Taiwan; and

(7) the United States, in accordance with the Taiwan Relations Act and the constitutional process of the United States, and consistent with its friendship with and commitment to the democratic government and people of Taiwan, should assist in defending them against invasion, missile attack, or blockade by the People's Republic of China.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to the rule, the gentleman from New York [Mr. GILMAN] and the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. HAMILTON] will each be recognized for 20 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from New York [Mr. GILMAN].

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

(Mr. GILMAN asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, I want to commend the chairman of the Asia and Pacific Subcommittee, Mr. BEREUTER, and the ranking minority member, Mr. BERMAN for bringing this important resolution before us.

Mr. Speaker, the administration is fond of promoting the concept that its policy toward China is one of constructive engagement and that it would be folly to attempt to isolate or contain China. It is true that we must engage the dictators in Beijing. The trouble is that the administration mistakes appeasement for constructive engagement.

Time and time again, the administration has ignored Beijing's violations of MOU's and international agreements on trade, human rights, and weapons proliferation. This is not constructive engagement. This is appeasement and it is directly responsible for the current crises that we face.

The administration must stop sweeping aside China's violations of its many agreements with the United States by dismissing enforcement as an attempt to isolate or contain China.

Accusations about isolation, containment, and political transition periods avoid hard questions of how to deal pragmatically and effectively with a totalitarian government with enormous resources to cause havoc.

If China violates an agreement it must be held accountable. Accountability is constructive engagement. It is appeasement to make excuses when Beijing does not live up to its word.

Beijing and its apologists claim that there is a so-called cloud over United States-Sino relations because the Congress insisted that President Lee of Taiwan be allowed into our country. But the storm began years ago when the Communists took control of China.

This current so-called cloud is really a smoke ring designed to hide the root of the problem—Democracies and dictatorships are fundamentally different and will always clash.

House Concurrent Resolution 148 is a fundamental first step in making it clear where the United States should stand on the vital issue of Communist China's threats against democratic Taiwan.

If the administration remains incapable of constructively engaging China regarding other American interests such as nuclear weapons proliferation, human rights violations, and trade, then the Congress will step in again so that serious situations like the current one do not repeat themselves.

In 1950, Secretary of State Dean Acheson was vague about our Nation's commitment to South Korea, which tempted the North to attack. The Korean war might not have occurred had the United States been more clear about its interests.

We now face a similar problem and a similar solution.

Accordingly, I urge my colleagues to support House Concurrent Resolution 148.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, while I have some doubts about the content and timing of this resolution, I do intend to vote for it.

For 24 years, United States policy toward Taiwan has been governed by the one-China policy that has been enunciated and reaffirmed in three communiques. It is legally established in the Taiwan Relations Act.

The essence of that policy is that the United States acknowledges that all Chinese on either side of the Taiwan Straits maintain there is but one China, and Taiwan is a part of China. We have chosen deliberately and consciously not to challenge that position. That means that the United States has chosen not to endorse the concept of an independent Taiwan or the concept of

two Chinas. That policy has been followed by six Presidents, three Republican and three Democratic.

This is policy that has helped for the past generation to secure peace and stability and promote remarkable economic growth in East Asia. It is a policy that has enabled Taiwan and China to flourish, and it has served United States interests well. The Taiwan Relations Act, which lays out the legal basis for our relationship with Taiwan, contains no commitment to come to Taiwan's assistance in case of military threats or attack by the PRC.

Members should carefully note that there is today no commitment to send troops to defend Taiwan or otherwise to use armed force to repel an attack against Taiwan. The Taiwan Relations Act was carefully written to give the United States maximum flexibility in dealing with Chinese threats to Taiwan.

The resolution before us today sends a somewhat different signal about U.S. policy. It may be only a sense-of-Congress resolution, it may not spell out what the United States must do to assist in defending Taiwan, it may stipulate United States actions to assist in defending Taiwan be in accordance with the Taiwan Relations Act, but the resolution appears to push American policy further than it has ever gone before in a quarter of a century. It appears to increase the United States commitment to defend Taiwan, and many of the cosponsors make this claim for the resolution. It articulates policy in a different way than does the President. It could confuse the people in leadership of Taiwan, of China, and of our many friends in East Asia.

My concern is that because its lack of reference to the one-China policy and because of its rephrasing of the United States commitment to Taiwan, the United States should assist in defending Taiwan. This resolution could be subject to misinterpretation.

Now I also have some concerns about the resolution's timing. We are facing a very serious situation in East Asia. Missiles are flying, live ammunition is being fired, sea lanes and air corridors have been shut down. Our friends in Taiwan feel, with justification, that they are being bullied and coerced. Our relationship with China is strained. Our friends in Tokyo and elsewhere in Asia are alarmed by China's provocative actions, but they also worry about our reaction.

□ 1515

This, in short, is a time for restraint and negotiation. But, Mr. Speaker, a vote against this resolution sends the wrong message. A vote against this message misleads Beijing about congressional opposition to its recent outrageous actions in the Taiwan Strait. A no vote on this resolution leads the PRC leadership to the erroneous conclusion that the Congress is not united in its condemnation of China's bullying tactics, so I plan to vote for the resolu-

tion, but with the reservation I have stated.

Let me also say a word to the administration. This resolution indicates that the administration and the Congress are drifting apart on China policy. This resolution illustrates that the administration has been too timid. I believe the President must now explain fully the administration's policy on China. Now is the time for a clear, authoritative statement from the President on what we expect of the United States-China relationship and what we see as China's role in the world. The administration should consider this resolution a wake-up call. The long-standing consensus on China between the Congress and the administration is eroding. The President and the Congress must reforge a consensus policy toward China.

I would like to ask the principal author of the resolution what it means when it says the United States should assist in defending Taiwan? Is that a change in present policy? Does it mean, for example, that we are prepared to commit United States military forces to defend Taiwan under any and all circumstances? I wonder if the gentleman could give us some interpretation of the words "should assist in defending Taiwan?"

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HAMILTON. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, while the initial sponsor is not on the floor at this time, I will attempt to answer the gentleman's inquiry. I believe what this infers is that while not necessarily sending military forces, it would mean trying to provide essential material and support to Taiwan in the event that they were being invaded.

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, reclaiming my time, does the gentleman see in the resolution any extension of our obligation beyond the Taiwan Relations Act, or just a reaffirmation of it?

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman will yield further, I think it is intended to be a reaffirmation of what is set forth in the act.

Mr. HAMILTON. I find the gentleman's response reassuring, and I commend the gentleman for that. I urge the adoption of the resolution.

Mr. Speaker, I submit the following letters for the RECORD:

COMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Washington, DC, March 15, 1996.

Hon. WARREN M. CHRISTOPHER,
Secretary of State, Department of State, Washington, DC.

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: I am writing to express my concerns about H. Con. Res. 148, relating to U.S. policy toward Taiwan, which was adopted yesterday by the House Committee on International Relations.

In my judgment, this resolution changes in a substantive and obvious way the articulation of a twenty-four year policy supported by six presidents. The resolution appears to ratchet up our commitment to Taiwan and to

promise a level of support for Taiwan that we have declined to give for the past quarter century. It avoids any reaffirmation of the one-China policy. As a consequence, it appears to create a major difference between the Congress and the executive branch.

I am writing now to ask for more details about your views on this resolution. A representative of the State Department has testified that the administration does not support this resolution.

Why do you not support the resolution?

Does this mean that you oppose it?

What is the difference between not supporting, and opposing?

Is paragraph 7 of the resolved clause the only provision to which the administration objects?

What precisely is the nature of your concerns about this paragraph?

Will the resolution help U.S.-China relations, or act as a hindrance?

If the latter, how much damage will it do to U.S.-China relations?

I would appreciate an answer to this letter by Monday, since there is a good chance the full House will be asked to act upon this resolution early next week.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

LEE H. HAMILTON,
Ranking Democratic Member.

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, DC, March 19, 1996.

Hon. LEE H. HAMILTON,
House of Representatives.

DEAR MR. HAMILTON: Thank you for your letter of March 15 asking for the Administration's position on H. Con. Res. 148 regarding the security of Taiwan.

The Administration agrees with the objective of the resolution's sponsors to make clear to the People's Republic of China that a resort to force with respect to Taiwan would directly involve American national interests and would carry grave risks. We believe there should be no uncertainties about this in Beijing, Taipei or anywhere else. It is important that the Congress and Administration speak in a unified fashion to make clear that the United States feels strongly about the ability of the people of Taiwan to enjoy a peaceful future.

However, the Administration cannot support the resolution as it is currently formulated. Paragraph 7 of the resolved clause uses language that does not appear in the Taiwan Relations Act (TRA). This passage, in stating that the United States should "assist in defending" Taiwan against invasion, missile attack or blockade by the PRC, could be interpreted as expressing an opinion taking us beyond the carefully formulated undertakings embodied in the TRA.

Although the PRC military exercises have been provocative and have raised tensions in the area, they have not constituted a threat to the security or the social or economic system of Taiwan. It is our understanding that the Taiwan authorities agree with our assessment of the situation. Should there be a threat to Taiwan's security, we would promptly meet our obligation under the TRA to consult with Congress on an appropriate response.

We will continue to convey our deep concern to Beijing in unmistakable fashion through our statements and our actions. We support a similar resolution in the Senate which uses formulations we believe would be more helpful to our common efforts to restore stability and reduce tensions in the area.

We hope this information is responsive to your concerns. Please let us know if we can be of further assistance.

Sincerely,

BARBARA LARKIN,
*Acting Assistant Secretary,
Legislative Affairs.*

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, I thank the ranking member for his supportive comments.

Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from New York [Mr. SOLOMON], the distinguished chairman of the Committee on Rules, who has been a staunch advocate of democracy in Taiwan and one of the major sponsors of this legislation.

Mr. SOLOMON. Mr. Speaker, let me tell you exactly what it means. But, first of all, let me say this: Why should the United States come to the rescue of a small island country halfway around the world? Let me tell you why: Because we are proud Americans and we pay our debts. For those that might not be able to remember, because the people of Taiwan, they came to our rescue. We, the United States of America, standing shoulder to shoulder against the Japanese imperialists that threatened our freedoms. Do you remember that in World War II? Shoulder to shoulder they stood with us when we were about to lose that war. Then standing shoulder to shoulder again, for 40 years, they were an integral link in the chain of defense against the spread of deadly, atheistic communism, that threatened the freedoms of every single American in this world. They stood as one of the strongest links in that chain of defense against the spread of that deadly communism.

So, yes, we have a moral obligation to defend them against that same deadly, atheistic communism that now threatens their very freedoms, that democracy, that is similar to our own.

But, beyond that, let me tell you something: We owe it to them because we have to abide by U.S. law. I helped write the Taiwan Relations Act in 1979, along with you two gentlemen. Let me tell you what it says. It says that we, the United States of America, will supply the country of Taiwan with qualitative and quantitative weaponry to help them defend themselves.

Let me tell you more importantly what it says, and I will say this to my good friend, the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. HAMILTON], and the gentleman from New York [Mr. GILMAN]. You read the Taiwan Relations Act. It says the United States will stand ready and will be prepared to help defend Taiwan, and this answers your question, LEE, against military attack, from whom-ever, or economic embargo affecting both sea and air lanes.

Every Member of this Congress has an obligation to come over here and obey the U.S. law and vote for it, and then we ought to defend them against that attack. That is what the law says.

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from California [Mr. ROHRBACHER].

Mr. ROHRBACHER. Mr. Speaker, America is now facing a potential military confrontation in the Straits of Taiwan, or the Taiwan Straits as they are called. We should all come together, and that is what this piece of legislation does, to make certain that the Communist regime on the mainland understands that we are united in our opposition to any use of force by the mainland on Taiwan, and that the United States will respond militarily, if necessary, if force is used against the Republic of China on Taiwan.

But this situation was a long time in coming. It was a long time in the making. Mistakes have been made, and let us quit making those mistakes.

The official policy of this administration has been strategic ambiguity with the Communist dictatorship on the mainland. Ambiguity with dictatorships does not work. If anything is a lesson we should have learned in the past, it is that. The Chinese communists have mistaken our ambiguity for weakness. When this administration decoupled all consideration of trade policy with our discussions with the Communist regime in China on human rights, they did not take that as a sign of good faith from us we needed to discuss human rights. They took that as a sign of weakness.

This President proved himself the worst enemy of human rights to ever serve as President of the United States by decoupling any consideration of human rights with trade discussions with the largest and most heinous opponent and oppressor of people on this planet, the Communist dictatorship in China.

What we have to do now is to reassert to those dictators on the mainland of China that we side with the democratic people of the world, especially in the Republic of China, and we will not tolerate their expansionism or their threats or any other activities that threaten their neighbors. We are a country that stands for human rights and peace. We must be strong. That is what Beijing needs to hear. That is what this resolution is all about.

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, I think it is important to understand precisely the language of the United States commitment to Taiwan. The Taiwan Relations Act stipulates that it is United States policy to consider any effort to determine the future of Taiwan by other than peaceful means, including boycotts or embargoes, a matter of grave concern to the United States.

The act also promises that the United States "will make available to Taiwan such defense articles and defense services as may be necessary to enable Taiwan to maintain a sufficient self-defense capability."

Mr. Speaker, that is our commitment.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. ROSE].

(Mr. ROSE asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. ROSE. Mr. Speaker, it is, in my opinion, a sad day that we have come to this. It is sad that we even have to pass this resolution, 148.

I support it. I associate myself with the comments of my colleague, the gentleman from New York [Mr. SOLOMON], and the gentleman from New York [Mr. GILMAN], and the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. HAMILTON], and the gentleman from California [Mr. RHORABACHER], for what they have observed about the situation.

Unfortunately, they are correct. I want to reflect just a moment on a few things that I think our dear friends on the mainland should consider, and that is the reason America was formed as a Nation. After the revolution, Lafayette went back home to France and said, "Freedom has found a home, and it is America." The basic reason this country was formed was to give freedom and liberty a home in the world. To varying degrees, we have lived up to that heritage, some ways, very disappointing to me and many Americans, but basically that is our heritage. And when we give a gift like most-favored-nation treaty status to a country somewhere in the world, we have a right to demand that in return for that gift, that they respect the basic reasons for the founding of our country, the basic principles that America believes in, and it is freedom and liberty, and it is human rights.

Unfortunately, the principles of Jefferson, Madison, and Washington go out the window when the dollar sign appears, and good old trade has clouded our eyes about holding people's feet to the fire on the principles for which this country was founded.

I strongly support 148. I regret deeply its necessity. But I would urge all in this body to watch carefully at the final vote on 148, and you will get a clear picture of the depth of the feeling of this Congress, of the American people, as to how we feel about this very important, yet symbolic issue.

Mr. Speaker, please support 148.

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Utah [Mrs. WALDHOLTZ].

Mrs. WALDHOLTZ. Mr. Speaker, in less than 96 hours, Taiwan will hold its first-ever direct Presidential election. The election is a culmination of Taiwanese transition from 50 years of authoritarian rule to full-fledged democracy. Freedom and democracy in Taiwan, however, are apparently unacceptable to the People's Republic of China.

Resentful of Taiwan's growing free market economic prosperity, Beijing apparently fears that Taiwan will be seen as a model for political reform on the mainland, and in a blatant show of intimidation the PRC is today conducting yet another in a series of military exercises just miles from Taiwan's largest cities.

House Concurrent Resolution 148 strongly, and in no uncertain terms, condemns China's efforts to intimidate Taiwan. It urges peaceful relations between Beijing and Taiwan and expresses the sense of Congress that the United States should help Taiwan defend itself.

Mr. Speaker, what is at stake here is not just the viability of democracy in Taiwan, but the peace and security of the entire Asiatic region and the world. Beijing's act of aggression must not be allowed to stand. I urge my colleagues to support the resolution.

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the distinguished gentleman from California [Ms. PELOSI].

(Ms. PELOSI asked and was given permission to revise and extend her remarks.)

Ms. PELOSI. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding me time.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of the Cox resolution today and commend the gentleman for his leadership in bringing this legislation to the floor and the chairman of the full committee for expeditiously getting this through committee. I think this is a very important resolution.

Mr. Speaker, I have been in serious disagreement with the Clinton administration on its China policy in relationship to trade, human rights, and proliferation, but I do think on the issue of Taiwan that the administration's actions have been prudent and appropriate. I think they have been completely consistent with Mr. COX's resolution. I believe that we are voting for this resolution in support of the actions of the administration that calls for a peaceful resolution of the reunification issue between China and Taiwan, and that calls for a cessation of the intimidation of the political process and the economic progress on Taiwan.

These missiles, armed missiles, that the Chinese are lobbying at Taiwan, are lobbed not only against Taiwan, but against democracy, and it is important for this body to stand firm in our support of democracy in Taiwan.

I commend the gentleman from California [Mr. COX].

□ 1530

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1½ minutes to the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. ROTH], distinguished subcommittee chairman.

Mr. ROTH. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding time to me.

Mr. Speaker, like my colleagues, I am concerned about what is taking place here in Taiwan. This is serious business. This week the people of Taiwan will go to the polls for the first free and open election in Taiwan's history. It is a terrible irony that at the very moment when democracy triumphs, Taiwan is facing the greatest threat in a generation.

This resolution that we are going to vote on embodies a bedrock principle of American policy, that the United

States will assist the democracies of the world in defending against tyranny and oppression. My only argument with the resolution I am going to vote for is I do not think it is explicit enough. I think when we send a message, we should send a real message, and I think that what we are doing is obfuscating too much with this resolution. Either we stand with Taiwan or we do not. If we stand with Taiwan, we should say it forthrightly. This is where we stand because China, the rulers in China do not like vacillation. They do not like weakness. Either we are with them or against them. I think they respect their friends, they respect their enemies. But I do not think that in between we send a strong message.

Other than that, I think it is a great resolution. Again, the resolution embodies a bedrock principle.

The leaders of Beijing should make no mistake about it. As far as I am concerned in voting on this, Congress is sending a clear message that the United States will continue to play a role and a very active role in the future of Taiwan and that we will stand behind our commitment. At the same time, I think Congress is sending a message to the Clinton administration that we need clear, consistent, and workable strategy in working with China.

I commend, Mr. Speaker, my colleagues who have spoken here before on this issue because I think they have been right on target and focused on the issue.

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from New Mexico [Mr. RICHARDSON].

(Mr. RICHARDSON asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. RICHARDSON. Mr. Speaker, I am going to vote for this resolution, but I am very troubled about it. What we are doing is sending a variety of messages. The situation is very, very tense. Last time we sent a signal to Taiwan that we should invite its President here, I voted for that. It caused irreparable damage to our foreign policy, especially our relationship with China.

I know that we are all concerned about Chinese policy toward the United States, toward human rights, toward nonproliferation. I recognize that. But there are 2.25 billion people there, and we need to start getting along with them. I found the Chinese actions outrageous on a number of issues, but at the same time what we are doing here today is possibly exacerbating an already very tense situation.

We are sending different signals about what U.S. policy is. We have got the executive branch policy and now we have a new policy that the House of Representatives is going to send. A key clause of this resolution says, in accordance with the Taiwan Relations Act and the constitutional process of the United States, the United States

should assist in defending against invasion, missile attack, or blockade by the People's Republic of China.

It may only be a sense of Congress resolution. It may not spell out what the United States must do in assisting and defending Taiwan. It might stipulate that United States actions to assist in defending Taiwan must be in accordance with the Taiwan Relations Act. But this resolution appears to push American policy further than it has ever gone in a quarter century.

President Nixon and Henry Kissinger with the Shanghai Communiqué, with the Taiwan Relations Act, spelled out these issues rather ambiguously and for a reason. It worked. The policy, the two-China policy over the years has worked.

Where we are now is in a situation where I am very, very concerned that we are sending a mixed message. A vote against this resolution also sends a wrong message as well. A vote against this resolution misleads Beijing about congressional opposition to its totally outrageous action in the Taiwan Straits. A no vote on this resolution leads the leadership in China to the erroneous conclusion that the Congress is not united in its condemnation of China's bullying tactics.

So for once I think the best kind of policy that we have toward this situation is to give the President flexibility, give the Secretary of Defense some flexibility in dealing with a potential contingency action but not go out there with a dramatic House of Representatives vote which may provoke China into doing something irrational, which may bring us to a situation which, instead of lessening the tension, we are tying the hands of the executive branch where we are perhaps misreading a situation with Taiwan.

Yes, we should defend Taiwan. They are our friends. We have all been there many times. But why do we have to spell this out in such a dramatic way? Why can we not let the executive branch conduct foreign policy in a way that does not tie their hands?

This legislation on Taiwan will create confusion in our policy toward Taiwan.

The legislation never mentions the one-China policy. It says that the United States should assist in defending Taiwan against invasion, missile attack, or blockade by the People's Republic of China. What is different about this legislation than the Taiwan Relations Act?

This bill, which is supposed to send a clear signal to the Chinese, actually muddles the signals that the Chinese will get. The Chinese will view this as new legislation, and may see it as unnecessarily provocative.

Reluctantly, I will vote for this bill because the Congress should not appear split over policy toward China. A split in the Congress may indicate to the Chinese that they can do what they will in the region without a strong response from the United States.

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, I yield 10 seconds to the gentlewoman from California [Ms. PELOSI].

Ms. PELOSI. Mr. Speaker, with all due respect to the previous speaker,

and I do respect him, I think he overstates the importance of the vote for President Li's visa. I believe the actions on the part of the Chinese Government would be the same with or without the vote that the Congress took at that time. I want the RECORD to show that.

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may consume to the distinguished gentleman from California [Mr. COX], chairman of our Republican policy committee and the sponsor of this resolution.

Mr. COX of California. Mr. Speaker, I want to thank all of my colleagues, particularly on the Committee on International Relations, the chairman, the gentleman from New York [Mr. GILMAN], the ranking member, the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. HAMILTON], the gentlewoman from California [Ms. PELOSI], the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. PAYNE], chairman of the Congressional Black Caucus, the gentleman from California [Mr. LANTOS], and the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. PORTER], the Democratic and Republican cochairs respectively of the Congressional Human Rights Caucus and all of the Members, Democrat and Republican, who stand in support of the principles of freedom and democracy embodied in this resolution today.

This is a strongly bipartisan resolution. It is in strong support of America's longstanding foreign policy vis-à-vis both Taiwan and the People's Republic of China since 1979.

Specifically, we do and will continue to support the peaceful dialog between Taiwan and Communist China. We will support whatever arrangements they peaceably make between themselves. We shall not impose our own view as to their futures. But we expect the People's Republic of China and Taiwan to live up to their respective commitments to a peaceful process.

In the Shanghai communiqué of 1982, the People's Republic of China pledged to the United States that they would pursue peaceful rather than violent means of settling the question of the future of Taiwan. Since that time, in fact since 1979, and the Taiwan Relations Act, this Congress and every President has supported democracy and its development on Taiwan. What we will see this Saturday is the full flowering of that successful policy.

We will see following last year's free, open, fair, and democratic legislative elections on Taiwan, the first ever free, fair, open, and democratic election for the head of Government in Chinese history, in over 4,000 years of recorded Chinese history.

Everyone in America and everyone in this Congress applauds that development. But the Communists who are jockeying for position and power in Beijing this moment feel threatened alone by that democracy and that freedom and, therefore, they are using this military campaign to influence the vote on Saturday, to intimidate Taiwanese democracy and to make it plain

that they believe they have a right, not accorded them in law or nature, to seize Taiwan, its people, and its Government by military force. If that happens, there is no question what would be the United States response indeed what would be the response of the free world. We would be there to defend the free people and the open society and the democracy on Taiwan.

Since that is the case, it is vitally important that we make that plain, diplomatically, privately, and publicly to the rulers in Beijing. They must not wage a campaign of assault and military aggression against Taiwan on the mistaken premise that the United States would not use force.

Unfortunately, some in the administration made comments to this effect over the period of the last year and a half. Right now there is not much question. The United States military is present in the Taiwan Straits as we speak, and another carrier is steaming its way there from the Persian Gulf. The President needs to be supported in these communications with the P.R.C. There cannot be any doubt. The time for ambiguity is over and the time for clarity is upon us.

Our friendship with the People's Republic of China and Taiwan, different in each case, based chiefly on mercantile and trade interests in the one and on our sharing of democratic values on the other, would only be disrupted by war in the Taiwan Straits. We have a strong interest in peace. The People's Republic of China is America's sixth-largest trading partner. Taiwan is our seventh-largest trading partner.

The P.R.C. runs, in fact, the largest trade deficit with America. It is true that Taiwan, in fact, buys more from the United States of America than does the People's Republic of China. We certainly have nothing to gain in a material sense from war in the Taiwan Straits.

Likewise, we have nothing to gain from the loss of the gains of freedom and democracy on Taiwan over these last many years. Today we will send a strong message of support and encouragement for our foreign policy of so many administrations, so many years and decades, of friendship toward the democracy and free and open society on Taiwan and of support for continued peaceful discussions between the People's Republic of China and the Government on Taiwan about their future relationship.

The free world will defend democracy, if it should come to that. But we wish to have peace through clarity and through strength rather than war through weak negotiation. Lest we be misjudged, we pass this resolution today. Again, I want to congratulate my Republican and Democratic cosponsors, including all of the House leadership behind this resolution today.

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for his very poignant and eloquent remarks in support of the resolution and want to commend him for his hard work.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. BEREUTER], chairman of our Subcommittee on Asia and the Pacific of our House Committee on International Relations.

(Mr. BEREUTER asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. BEREUTER. Mr. Speaker, House Concurrent Resolution 148 addresses the highly volatile situation in the Taiwan Strait as the P.R.C. has crudely sought to intimidate the people of Taiwan on the eve of national elections. China's missile tests, live-fire exercises, and huge amphibious force opposite Taiwan have been quite rightly labeled as "acts of terrorism" by Speaker GINGRICH.

This Member commends the distinguished member from California, Mr. Cox for his initiative in drafting House Concurrent Resolution 148 in consultation with this Member and others, and the distinguished chairman of the House International Relations Committee, Mr. GILMAN for his successful effort to obtain quick committee action on the resolution unanimously reported from the subcommittee I chair. The resolution passed the committee by voice vote with overwhelming bipartisan support.

At this precarious point, Mr. Speaker, miscalculation and recklessness by either party could lead to catastrophe. Many Members of this House—Republican and Democrat alike—were concerned that the administration's initial reaction of deliberate and calculated ambiguity did not convey an adequate expression of U.S. resolve. This Member and others believe it is necessary to send an unambiguous signal that the United States would not sit idly by were Taiwan to be attacked. The decision to send a second Navy aircraft carrier group to join the one already in the waters near Taiwan is an important demonstration of United States intent. House Concurrent Resolution 148 seeks to add some clarity and consistency in our policy vis-a-vis Taiwan's security and Chinese threats.

This Member would emphasize that it is not the intention of House Concurrent Resolution 148 to be anti-P.R.C. when it criticizes Beijing's coercive activities. Nor does the resolution offer unequivocal support of all Taiwanese policies or actions. The United States is not seeking to create new adversaries where none need exist, and we must not be stampeded into adopting policies that are contrary to the U.S. national interest. For example, while we enthusiastically support and congratulate Taiwan's economic success and democratic progress, the United States is not endorsing the efforts of some Taiwanese politicians to enhance Taiwan's position in the United Nations and other international organizations which require statehood. Taiwan's leaders have been—and should continue to be—very careful about such statements. Unilateral actions to establish

an independent Taiwan—which Taiwan's leaders consistently claim they are not seeking—would be extremely dangerous, and would be inconsistent with the policies of five successive United States administrations from both political parties.

The purpose of House Concurrent Resolution 148 is simply to make very clear to Beijing that the United States is committed—consistent with the Taiwan Relations Act—to assist in the defense of Taiwan in the event of an invasion, attack, or blockade. It is hoped that this resolution will have a salutary deterrent effect by sending a clear and unequivocal expression of support for peaceful resolution of Taiwan's future status—something both sides say they support—and reaffirming our rejection of any attempt to resolve the issue through the use of force.

This Member urges all his colleagues to support House Concurrent Resolution 148 to send a clear signal to Beijing that the United States will not tolerate bullying of our friends in Taiwan.

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Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from Florida [Mr. DEUTSCH].

Mr. DEUTSCH. Mr. Speaker, for the last 2 weeks the Taiwanese people have been under siege by Beijing's repeated acts of military intimidation. Beijing has harassed, tormented, and bullied Taiwan in an attempt to break the spirit of the Taiwanese people. These immoral and reckless acts are part of Beijing's carefully crafted strategy designed to suffocate democracy in Taiwan, to intimidate the Taiwanese government, and to influence American foreign policy.

Mr. Speaker, Beijing has failed. They have failed to disrupt the presidential elections, they have failed to browbeat Taiwan into submission. They have only lifted the masses in Taiwan to fight harder for democracy and independence.

As the deployment of the two aircraft carriers shows, United States resolve on this issue is unwavering. The American people will not tolerate such a grave threat to our own national security. The resolution before us today, written in accordance with the Taiwan Relation Act, will send a clear message to Beijing about our interests in a secure and stable Taiwan. This resolution will affirm the American commitment to the people of Taiwan.

I urge Members to vote in favor of this bipartisan resolution which is a continuation of American policy that we cannot, nor can we, accept Taiwan passing the straits, the Chinese passing the Straits of China in an attempt of any type of invasion.

(Mr. HAMILTON asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, I have no further requests for time, and I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from Washington [Mr. NETHERCUTT].

(Mr. NETHERCUTT asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. NETHERCUTT. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of House Concurrent Resolution 148.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to express my support for House Concurrent Resolution 148, a resolution concerning the defense of Taiwan. This resolution is an important step in our relationship with the People's Republic of China because it unambiguously proclaims our interest in the security of Taiwan and condemns China's heavy-handed efforts to intimidate the people of Taiwan as they enjoy their first direct presidential election.

Mr. Speaker, this resolution is necessary because the Clinton administration has invited continued and escalating Chinese aggression by pursuing an inconsistent and unclear policy toward China and Taiwan. Only by making our priorities and interests crystal clear can we prevent future conflict with the People's Republic of China and assure the continued security and prosperity of the United States and our Pacific allies.

Our national interests in Taiwan and the Pacific should be crystal clear. Taiwan possesses the thirteenth-largest developed economy and is an important trading partner for my district, Washington State, and America. Furthermore, if China is allowed to intimidate or attack Taiwan, our relationship with Japan, South Korea, and other important security and trade allies is likely to suffer.

Instead of attempting to bully Taiwan, Chinese leaders should try to learn from Taiwan's example. Taiwan has achieved economic success by fostering an economy that is virtually as free as America's. Taiwan is now prepared to enter the ranks of truly democratic governments where the people elect their own president, an achievement China may someday replicate. It is right for America to defend Taiwan's progress and prevent an autocratic and militaristic Chinese regime from threatening Taiwan and our Pacific allies, and it is important for this body to make that statement by passing House Concurrent Resolution 148.

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, this resolution is a firm statement of support for our democratic friends on Taiwan. We need to stand together to let Beijing know that any military move against our friends on Taiwan will end in a hostile situation which none of us desire or want.

Accordingly, I urge our colleagues to support House Concurrent Resolution 148 to spell out our Nation's commitment to Taiwan.

Mr. SPENCE. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of the resolution. For beyond the immediate threats China poses to Taiwan, I am concerned about the emerging pattern of aggressive Chinese behavior.

The Chinese provocation in the Taiwan Strait is but a single, short act in what promises to be a longer drama as China forces its way onto the global stage. At this point, we do not yet know whether China will play a starring role—although the pace of Chinese economic development indicates that it will. Or whether